476 571 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the participants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[228] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognised.

[714] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Pumdurucú 157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain 554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

●156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Pumdurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their council. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social
and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared
forest for gardens in cooperation, and
the women of the large, extended
family-household carried out their
tasks in unity. Foods were shared
among house members and by all the
people of the village. The individual
● [154] and the biological family of man, wife,
and children had no independent ex-
istence external to their roles within
the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

534 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[44] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

184 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[72] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[75] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social